A REPORT

ON THE

FAMILY HISTORY

OF THE

CHIEF CLANS

OF THE

ROY BAREILLY DISTRICT.

BY W. C. BENETT, C. S.

LUCKNOW.

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On the Family History of the Chief Clans of the Roy Bareilly District by W. C. BENETT, C. S.

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1. The earliest glimpse of authentic history in this District is afforded by Major Orr's discovery in the neighbouring district of Sultanpoor of an earthen pot containing several hundred coins of the Indo-Scythic dynasty which reigned in Kabul before and cotemporaneously with the commencement of our Era. The fact that all the coins belong to the same series makes it nearly certain that the date of their consignment to the receptacle from which they have just been delivered was between 17 and 18 centuries ago. The names Kadphises and Kanerki, the title Rao Nana Rao, and the Mithraic words "Okro" and "Athro" are distinctly legible; there are other inscriptions which might be explained by an experienced numismatologist.

Mr. Capper discovered some very fine gold coins of the Skanda Gupta series at Buxar; and besides these the irregularly shaped bits of silver with devices stamped one over the other, and apparently at different times, which were the coin of an unknown period of antiquity, are not uncommon.

2. From this it may be inferred that some kind of civilization existed in this District from very early times down to at least the end of the third century A. D., and it is no wild conjecture that the desolation which we discover when its modern his-

tory commences was due to the exterminating wars which marked the revival of Brahmanism.

3. The first piece of local history is connected with Dalmau which appears to have been a flourishing town from early times. On a hill to the North-West of the fort is still shown the tomb of a Muhammadan martyr Badr-ud-din, whose traditional date is 646H., (1248A. D.) From an old Hindi story book which professes to have been copied in 1043H., from an original composed in 779H., (1587A. D.,) we learn that *Jauna Shah, the Lieutenant of the Emperor Firoz, had stopped at Dalmau on his way to what was to become Jaunpur, and had beautified the city. It is further stated that Malik Mubarik was the Governor, and that there was a considerable colony of Mussalmans, besides a settlement of Chauhans and Sunars. Malik Mubarik's name is still held in great reverence at Dalmau, and his tomb is shown in the fort. The kings of Oudh used to allow a small monthly stipend for the purpose of keeping a light burning on it, and the government officials when they arrived at the town were expected to pay it a visit before they proceeded to their work. From this it may be inferred that he was the founder of the Mussalman settlement, and that before the time of Jauna Shah the town had been entirely Hindú.

* Jauna Shah preceded Firoz on the throne of Delhi.

4. Towards the end of the fourteenth century the town was in danger from the neighbouring Bhars, who under the rule of four brothers had established something like an organized Government over the Bareilly and Dalmau pargannahs.

Dal and Bal had forts at Delmau and Roy Bareilly, while two less famous brothers, Kaphur and Bhawan, were settled at Sudawanpur. It is said that Dal offered violence to the daughter of a Dalmau Saiad, and the complaints of the insulted father brought Ibrahim Sharki from Jaunpur to avenge the indignity. It is at any rate certain that this king fought a great battle with the Bhars at Sudawanpur and drove them before him into the Dalmau fort, where after a stubborn defence their whole army was destroyed. The tomb of the Bhar Chieftains is still shown at Pakhrauli, rather more than a mile from Dalmau, and is celebrated by a fair in the autumn, at which great numbers of Ahirs collect, and offer milk to the souls of the departed heroes. The women of the Bharotia Gotra of Ahirs do not wear anklets, saying that they are still mourning for their kings.

5. This success at Dalmau was only part of a regular Mussulman conquest of the whole district. In 796H., (1394A. D.,) Khwaja Jahan the Subehdar of Kanauj, Oudh, Karra and Jaunpur had asserted his independence, and his successor on the throne of Jaunpur, Shams-ud-din Ibrahim Shah Sharki applied himself to consolidate his power over the subject provinces. Already he had established his rule at Salon, Prashadipur, Jais, and Manikpur.

6. Salon is said to derive its name from Salivahana who relieved the country from the presence of a demon called Sahasr Bahan, and founded the town.

Prashadipur is said to be called after Paras Ram Deo, the Oudh incarnation of Vishnu, but etymologically it is much more likely that Rája Prashad Singh the great Kanhpuria who subdued this neighbourhood in Tilokchand's time gave his name to an older town. Near it is the village of Ranki the traditional seat of the Government of **Rája Bhartari* elder brother of Bikramajit. This unfortunate prince was cheated by his brother out of a magic fish, the digestion of which gave the knowledge of all things that occurred in the three worlds. He dissembled his disappointment, and retired to the distant solitudes of Oudh where he founded the city of Ranki.

* NOTE.—This Rája is also connected with the Bhitari Lat on the Gumti, and the tradition in the text is peculiarly valuable.

The present inhabitants say that Ranki is the Bhar name for a wine seller, and that they have occasionally found in their village gold coins, chains, and articles of domestic use which have been exposed by the rainy season; they were, however unable or unwilling to show me any of these relics. The ruins themselves are sufficiently remarkable. A sea of bricks represents what must have once been a large town, in the midst of which high grass grown mounds preserve the sites of lofty mansions. To the South-West of the town there is a large oblong fortress measuring about 250 yards in one direction, by 150 in the other, and surrounded by a moat some 30 yards wide.

7. The old name of Jais was Ujaliknagar, and it was the seat of a Bhar kingdom. The irregular appearance of the town is attributed to the caprice of its Bhar monarch, who in constantly recurring

fits of drunkenness had a methodical madness for raising fortifications Manikpur was named after Manikchand* the great Gahrwar Rája who reigned from that town. It is said that he fell at the hands of†Shahab-ud-din Gardezi, the Lieutenant of Ibrahim Sharki. A part of the remnants of his family fled to Salon, of which town their descendants are at present part proprietors.

* Note.—Manikchand as well as Dal and Bal the Bhar Chieftains are constantly appearing at any time within the years 1000 and 1400A. D, and have successfully eluded all my efforts to saddle them with a date. I think it probable that Manikchand and possible that Dal and Bal lived near the beginning of the thirteenth century.

† Note.—In Shekh Ahmad's history of the Saiads of India, it is stated that Shahab-ud-din Gardezi settled at Manikpur in the reign of Kutbuddin-bin-Altamsh. At Manikpur they suppose two Shahab-ud-dins, one of the 13th century, and another father of Sharf-ud-din Kazi-ul-Kuzzat in Ibrahim Sultan's time. Like all the Muhammadan families of Roy Bareilly and Pertabgurh they have no trustworthy pedigree.

8. After his success at Dalmau the Shah marched on Roy Bareilly, which like the towns just mentioned was at that time a Bhar village clustered round a large fort. The traditions of the Tar Bir demon, and the monstrous well whose overflowing threatened to swamp the town have already been told. It is singular that traces of buffalo sacrifice which must have descended from the Bhar times existed in connection whith this fort up to annexation. When a Muhammadan Nazim came he sacrificed the buffalo; a Hindú contended himself with slitting its ear.

9. The next enemy met by the Muhammadans was the Bais colony in the south west of the District, and it is necessary that I should stop to give an account of that remarkable family.

Their early history is involved in much obscurity, and for the sake of clearness I will here leave all

other families than the Tilokchandi Bais out of consideration. The story of the birth and life of Salivahana, the son of the world serpent, and their first ancestor has all the appearance of being a genuine tradition, in spite of the monstrous and indecent Brahmanical traditions with which it has been overlaid; and it agrees well with probable historical conjecture that this prince was one of the Takshak or Scythian Dynasty who were known as Nagasor snakes by their Arian subjects, a conjecture which is further confirmed by the fact that the serpent is the tribe deity of his descendants at the present day.

The original tradition as far as I have been able to extract it from the various accounts which I have heard, is as follows :—A son of the great world serpent was brought up under the roof of a potter of Mungi Patan on the Narbadda, and early showed by his wit and strength that he was destined to be a king. As a judge among his youthful companions, by what would now be considered a simple process of cross examination, he excited the wonder of a people unaccustomed to law courts; and deserved and received the same kind of honor as was accorded to Daniel by the Jews of the captivity after his successful investigation of the case of Susanna and the Elders. His amusement was to make clay figures of elephants, horses, and men at arms, and before he had well reached manhood he led his fictile army to do battle with the great King Bikramajit. When the hosts met, the clay of the young hero became living brass, and the weapons of his enemies fell harmless on the hard material. Bik-

ramajit fled, and took refuge in a large shewala whither he was pursued by Salivahana. At the mere sound of the boy's voice the ponderous gates of the temple rolled back, and Bikramajit acknowledged his conqueror with appropriate homage. A reasonable arrangement was made on the spot for the partition of the Royal power, and on the elder King's death, Salivahana became undisputed Rája of India. Later in life he conquered the Punjab, and died and was buried at Sialkot.

10. Of the history of his descendants till the time of the invasion of Oudh by Abhai Chand, nothing is positively known. The Rája Tarangini relates that a Bais General usurped the throne of Dehli at the beginning of the seventh century A. D.

Two different pedigrees connect Tilokchand with Salivahana, one giving 42 generations with Abhai Chand at the fourteenth, the other 31 with Abhai Chand at the twenty-second. Twenty names are common to both lists which are sufficiently unlike to prove separate sources, and sufficiently like to show a common historical ground-work. Both where the corroborate and where they contradict one another they are equally interesting and unintelligible.

The supporters of the longer list state that in Bhagwant Rai's time the kingdom was divided between his three sons, one of whom got Oudh. I may hazard a conjecture that this is a historical tradition, on the following grounds:—The first name common to the two lists is Ghuk Kumar, who in the longer list is represented as the father of the

above named Bhagwant Rai, and below him the number of generations and the names, though in a different order, are almost identical in both lists, This is sufficient to make it very probable that Ghuk Kumar's reign was an epoch in Bais history, and the division of the kingdom in his son's reign affords an excellent explanation. It is likely that the story refers to a forced change of abode before a victorious enemy, or a *ver sacrum* by which an overcrowded home was relieved of some of the younger and more vigorous offshoots.

The coincidence of the pedigrees makes it reasonable to suppose that this took place 30 generations before the time of Tilokchand, in the eighth century A. D. Between Abhai Chand and Tilokchand the shorter list is undoubtedly in the main correct; and the extraordinary divergences between the two are amply accounted for by the violent vicissitudes of fortune which marked Bais history in the reigns of Rai Tas, and his two successors.

11. Twelve centuries after the death of Salivahana two gallant youths who boasted that they were of his race found themselves and their followers at a bathing place on the Ganges when an affray arose between some soldiers the Gotam Rája of Argul and the forces of the Subehdar. The Hindús were defending the honor of their Queen and her daughter from the lust of the Mussalmans, and no Rajput could turn a deaf-ear to the agonized appeals for help that issued from the lady's bullock cart. So the Bais joined the losing side of their countrymen, rallied the fugitives and beat off the Muhammadans, but left one of their princes dead on the

field. The survivor Abhai Chand escorted the rescued Queen back to Argul. It was only natural that the young princess should fall in love with the soldier who had been wounded in her defence, and the King of Argul was himself in a position which made him very glad to secure the services of such a son-in-law. In the eastern part of his dominions was a large tract of country over which he exercised only a nominal authority, and which was thinly populated by a fierce intractable people called the Bhars, who paid him neither tribute nor respect. So he gave his daughter to Abhai Chand, and with her the viceroyalty of this unprofitable province.

NOTE.—At the present day a Bais considers a marriage with a Gotam peculiarly lucky.

12. Whatever may be the value of this story, there can be no doubt that at about this time there was a very general advance of Hindús into this district. The Kanhpurias at the eastern, and the Bais at the south western corner, as well as several old zemindari families such as the Pandes of Shiunam are proved by the coincidence of their pedigrees to have settled nearly contemporaneously in the seats where they are now found; and it is clear that they were portions of one wave of Hindú emigration. The chronological note appended to this report attempts to prove that these events took place in the middle of the thirteenth century.

NOTE.—If indeed the Kanhpurias immigrated at all.

13. The greater part of this district was then covered with extensive forests, and in the clear spaces the few brick huts and scattered hamlets of

the Bhars were the only evidences of human life. The nationality and religion of this people is a favorite topic for disquisition, and my truncated investigations have just so far enlightened me as to make me refrain from forming any opinion as to who or whence they were.

A bad time was beginning for them now. Abhai Chand lost no time in proceeding to his newly gained dominions, and crossing the Ganges built a fort at Buxar as a bais of operations. His enemy was however too powerful for him and he had to give up his position and retire to Abhaipur the village he has founded in the Antarbed, where he died. His successor Karn Rai prosecuted his enterprise and again occupied Buxar, but the first real success was obtained by his grandson Sidhu Rai, who utterly routed the Bhars in a great battle, the memory of which is preserved in the name of the village Sangrampur, which he founded on the scene of his victory. Pushing on through the wooded ravines and driving his enemy before him he took possession of Morarmau and Dhundhia Khera, since famous as the seats of the two greatest of the Bais families, and was the first to establish his clan in the new country. His descendents continued to extend their dominion, and when in the fifth generation from him, and at the time of the Jaunpur invasion, Rai Tas succeeded to the chieftainship, he was the acknowledged ruler of the seven and a half small pargannahs which from the kernel of Baiswara.*

* Note.

These were
Unchganw, Sidhupur, } now Dundhia Khera.
Bara, Kambhi, half Bhagwantnagar, } now Bhagwantnagar.
Ghatampur.
Magrair.
Pinhan.

14. Whether this chieftain resisted and was defeated or yielded without striking a blow to the vastly superior forces of the Muhammadans, I have been unable to discover; but we find him with his family and retainers shortly afterwards at the Court of the Chauhan Rája of Mainpuri. Many stories are connected with their exile, of which perhaps the most striking is that which accounts for the assumption of the title of Rája by Rai Tas. It is said that * Sumir Sah, the Chauhan, ridiculed the lately established family of the Bais and refused their chief the honors paid to an equal. On this Rai Tas challenged him to a pitched battle. On the morning of the fight all the Bais youth less than 20 years old to the number of about 500 were directed to return to their home, and in the event of the defeat of their elders preserve their family from extinction. With a modified obedience, and a happy compromise beteen prudence and valour they withdrew to an eminence at such a distance from the engagement that they would be able to participate in the success or get a good start in case of the defeat of their relations. They watched an indecisive conflict from morning till evening, and then, taking advantage of the fatigue of both parties, swooped down on the Chauhans and secured the victory. In consequence of this Sumir Sah formally invested Rai Tas with the Rája's tilak and gave him his daughter in marriage. The Bais is said to have entered the army of the Dehli Emperor and to have served with distinction, and most accounts represent that he died fighting under his standard against some rebellious chieftain.

* Note.—It is however probable that Sumir Sah was then the reigning Rája.

15. His son Rája Sathna successfully invaded the territories of the Sharki Sultan. Having re-occupied his ancestral dominions and acquired the new territory of Khiron from the Bhars, he pushed his conquests to the north, and taking advantage of the unsettled state of the Jaunpur empire, occupied the strong fort of Kakori after a severe contest with the Mussalman colonists. His success was the signal for a general rising against the hated conquerors.

From Safipur and Kakori to Salon and Manikpur, the Azan, and the slaughter of kine were proscribed, and in most of the larger towns the new Muhammadan judges and tax collectors were murdered or driven away. At Salon, Saiad Maud, the ancestor of the present Kazis of that town was cut down at his prayers by the neighbouring Rája who was most probably an ancestor of the Kanhpurias. His younger son was taken alive and kept in captivity by the Bhars. After a few years imprisonment he made his escape to the Court of the Jaunpur Emperor. Even at Manikpur* Azizud-din and Sharf-ud-din Gardezi who had been left in charge of the town were obliged to fly to the opposite stronghold of Karra. Husen Shah on his accession to the throne immediately sent a force from Karra to retrieve these losses. He had no difficulty in restoring the Kazis to the principal towns from which they had been ejected, but met with a stout resistance from Rája Sathna before the fortress at Kakori. It was taken at length by force or by fraud, and the Rája was killed. Some accounts say

NOTE.—The sons of Sahab-uddin the founder of the family.

that he was bricked up in the wall alive, and others that he was decapitated, and his head buried where the Shekhon Darwaza now stands at Lucknow. The brave Rana Beni Madho Buksh, whose estate was confiscated for mutiny, swore to recover the head of his ancestor, but his oath was unfulfilled.

16. The Rani escaped, and on her flight to the Ganges was delivered of a son at the small village of Kotbhar on the confines of the Roy Bareilly and Unau districts. This posthumous son was afterwards famous as Tilokchand, the aponymous hero of the greatest of the Bais clans, the father or the founder of many castes of Rajputs, and to the present day no Bais passes the place of his birth without showing his respect by dismounting from his horse and going by barefooted. His mother arrived safely at Mainpuri, and the young chieftain passed the first twenty years of his life at the refuge which had sheltered his father and grandfather. In 1478 A. D., the opportunity arrived which was to enable him to humble his ancestral enemies and to put him in possession of far more than his ancestral property.

Bahlol Lodi had sent an expedition against Husen Shah of Jaunpur which resulted in the defeat of the latter, and his exile to the Court of Alauddin of Bengal, and Tilokchand took this opportunity to lead a large force of Rajputs from Mainpuri into Oudh. Following the steps of his father he crossed the Ganges near Buxar, and marching northwards defeated the Mussalman who garrisoned Kakori. His further advance in that direction was checked by the Pathans of Malhiabad, and he had to be contented with Kakori as the northern limit

of his ráj. As his rule is the commencement of a new chapter in the history of the district its consideration must be postponed for a short sketch of what had occurred in the northern and north-western pargannahs.

17. As has been already mentioned several families of Hindú zemindars settled in these parts when Abhai Chand made his first attempt at occupation in the south. Of these by far the most important were the Pandes of Shiunam, the founder of whose family Barm Datt Pande, like Abhai Chand, fought under the auspices of Gotam Government, and like him too lived 24 generations ago. The next settlers the Muhammadans of Bhilwal and Amawan were brought in by the invasions of Ibrahim Sharki and his grandson Husen Shah, and are the ancestors of the present Chaudhri of Bhilwal, and the talukdars of Pahremau and Amawan.

18. The Amethias, afterwards destined to be the most important family in the neighbourhood were already hovering on the confines of Haidargarh.

This tribe of Kshatris are a branch of the Chamar Gaur, and are said to be the descendants of a pregnant Gaur widow, who at the extirpation of the Kshatris by the Brahmans found an asylum in a Chamar's hut. The memory of this humble refuge is kept alive among them by the worship of the rapi or the cobbler's cutting tool. Great numbers of the Chamar Gaur now hold villages in the Hurdui district and it is probable that the Amethias were an offshoot of the same immigration. Tradition discovers them first at Shiupuri and afterwards

at the celebrated fortress of Kalinjar. Somewhere about the time of Tamerlane's invasion of Hindustan, Raipal Singh left Kalinjar and settled at Amethi in the Lucknow district. His descendants say that he was sent by the Delhi Emperor to suppress a rebellion in Oudh, and that he defeated and slew Balbhadra Sen Bissen with sixteen thousand of his host. The figures are slightly improbable, and my enquiries have failed to bring to light a Bissen Rája of that name. Raipal was wounded in the shoulder by a musket shot and recompensed by a khillat and the title of Raja of Amethi. Three or four generations after this, three brothers, Dingur Sah, Ram Singh and Lohang led their clan from* Amethi to Jagdispur and came into contact with the Mussalmans left at Bhilwal by Ibrahim Shah. The engagement resulted in the defeat of the Shekhs and the occupation of their villages by the invaders.

* Note.—They were probably expelled from Amethi by the ancestors of the present Nawabs of Selempur Ibrahimabad, and I am inclined to believe that some short time elapsed before they ventured to attack the Shekhs of Bhilwal. There is a tradition which represents that they passed some years in the villages of a Rai Khire Singh one of the Sehen Bais with whom they were connected by marriage.

19. There is every reason to suppose that this occurred towards the end of the fifteenth century and was part of the general reassertion of Hindú supremacy in Oudh consequent on the downfall of the Jaunpur dynasty, a reaction whose central event was the establishment of the Bais Kingdom. If the family tradition that Rai Pal Singh came to Amethi in Tamerlane's time is true (and it is confirmed by the numbers of generations recorded between him and the present date) the three brothers at a distance of three or four generations must have

lived about a hundred years after that date, *i. e.* shortly before the close of the fifteenth century.

20. The only other family which require any notice are the Kanhpurias, whose ancestor Prashad Singh acquired the ráj of a large tract of country to the north east of the district in Tilokchand's time. These trace their descent from the celebrated Rishi Bharat Dwaj, and their blood is enriched by the piety of 83 generations of saints and anchorites. The birth of Kanh, their first Kshatri ancestor, is involved in much obscurity. The common tradition is shortly as follows: Suchh, a saint of distinction, lived at Manikpur in the reign of the great Manikchand. A fable of Brahmanical invention describes and accounts for his marriage with* the daughter of that Rája.

* Note.—This princess the only daughter of Manikchand seems to have contracted several alliances and to have transmitted the ráj and the Gahrwar blood by each.

From this marriage two sons were born, one of whom turned Brahman and the other Kshatri. The Kshatri was Kanh, the (1) eponymous hero of his tribe, who married into a* Bais family, abandoned Manikpur, where he had succeeded as his mother's heir to the throne of Manikchand, to his wife's relations, and founded the village of Kanhpur on the road from Salon to Pertabgurh. The present tribe deity of the Kanhpurias is the Mahesha Rakshasa (buffalo demon) to whom they offer one buffalo at every third Bije Dasami, and another for every wedding or birth which has occurred in their chief's family since the last sacrifice. I regard this tradition as extremely

* Note.—See Shiudarshun Singh of Chandapur. The Rája of Tiloi says a Bissen of Manjholi. The moral is the same.

important. All the leading tribes of whose immigration there can be no doubt, retain distinct legends of their former homes. Here it is admitted that the founder of the tribe in these parts was also the first of his people who was admitted into the Hindú caste system, as his father the Rishi, and his ancestors, the 83 preceding anchorites were of course of no caste at all. The connection with the Bais is more important than that with Manikchand, as the latter is introduced into legends of every date from Mahmud Ghaznavi down to Husen Shah Sharki.

21. Kanh's sons Sahas and Rahas completed the conquest of the territory to the north west of Kanhpur by inflicting a decisive defeat on the Bhars, whose kings the brothers Tiloki and Biloki were left dead on the battle field. Their names are preserved in the neighbouring villages of Tiloi and Biloi.

I am averse to ignorant etymological speculations, but think that the following remarks may not be wholly valueless. The identity of the stories in all their leading features, as well as the similarity of the names, makes it probable that Tiloki and Biloki of Kanhpuria legend are no other than the Dal and Bal of the nearly cotemporaneous Bais, and of the Muhammadans of the next century, and this conjecture is strengthened by the constant recurrence of the termination *oi* in places undeniably connected with the Bhar rule. The central village of the Hurdui district which has the remains of a Bhar fort, the pargannah of Hurdui in this district, close under a great Bhar centre, and the pargannah of Bhadoi in the Mirzapur district mentioned by

Mr. Carnegy in his report on the races of Oudh, all perhaps originally bore one name, Bhardoi. It may be added that the local pronunciation of Bareilly is Baroli; the introduction of a liquid between the the two vowels is easily intelligible, and the original name may have been Baroi or Baloi, by which it is at once etymologically connected with its reputed founder Bal. Comparing these results with the Kanhpuria tradition I venture most diffidently to conjecture that *oi* in the words Tiloi and Biloi is a mere affix, and that the roots are * Til and Bil, which are identical with Dal and Bal the roots of Dalmau and Bareilly. The termination *Oki* was probably later invention founded on the old names of the two villages, and in Tiloki and Biloki we recognize the two chiefs who fell at Pakhrauli resisting the Jaunpur Emperor. I refrain from pushing this train of conjecture further to what might be an unwarrantable conclusion. The line of the Kanhpurias was maintained through a series of five inglorious chieftains down to the times of Prashad Singh.

* NOTE.—The names of the Aldemau Bhar heroes, the brothers Alde and Malde are strikingly similar.

22. I will now briefly review the general aspect of the district immediately before its conquest by Tilokchand. The elements of a regular Government had been established by Ibrahim Sultan whose Lieutenant Governor ruled from Dalmau, and is still remembered by his tomb composed of vast bricks and slabs of kankar in a fine grove on the banks of the Ganges. The principal Bhar forts were rebuilt and garrisoned, and the surrounding country divided

into tappas for the administration of justice and the collection of a precarious revenue. Makdum Bakhsh and his two sons Jahangir and Ruknuddin were left as kazis at Roy Bareilly, and the most important of the present Mussalmans of Dalmau and Salon, Prashadpur and Manikpur are descended from judges appointed under the same rule and re-instated at the second conquest by Husen Shah.

The whole country was still mainly occupied by the Bhars, but in the south the Shekh Zemindars of Jalalpur Dhai and Bahai, had been settled for two generations: the Kanhpurias were present at the north east, in the north were the colonies of the six or seven tribes of Hindús and the Pathans of Amawan, while on the borders of the Roy Bareilly and Lucknow districts, the Amethias and the Shekhs of Bhilwal were face to face and had already laid the foundations of a family feud. The Bais pargannahs of the south west were empty of their legitimate owners and probably abandoned to the Bhars. In a few years a complete change was to be effected, and the commencement of the sixteenth century may be regarded as the beginning of our modern history.

23. The reign of Tilokchand is probably the the most interesting and important epoch in the history of Oudh, and it is here that I particularly deplore the scantiness of my information. The traditions connected with it are at once extravagant and meagre, but through the mists of time we can still discern the figure of a conqueror and a statesman. Of the details of his conquests little is known, and it is probable that as he led a considerable force

into a country which had been distracted for two hundred years by the constant wars of the Hindús, the Muhammadans, and the old inhabitants, in the course of which struggle every party had been weakened; and succeeded to the comparatively strong Government of Jaunpur, which must have greatly reduced the chances of a successful opposition, he found little difficulty in asserting his supremacy over the whole of Eastern Oudh from the Ghagra to the Ganges, and from the gates of Lucknow to Partabgarh, of the Sombansis. The only defeat which is recorded of him is when his pretensions were successfully resisted by the Patháns of Malhiabad; and indeed his conciliatory policy was not likely to provoke opposition except in the case of a proud and powerful Mussalman family who could not endure even the nominal superiority of a Hindú chieftain.

24. The Brahmans of Sultanpur relate that in his old age, like another King of distinguished wisdom, he supported the prodigious responsibility of an establishment of three hundred wives, and by them became the father of a family countless as the sands of the sea* The princesses of Rewa and Mainpuri to whom he had originally been married, disgusted by an association in which the dignity of caste had not been respected, fled from his castle and gave rise to a destinction between the Bais from within (Bihtaria) and the Bais from without (Baheria), those from without being the offspring of the genuine Rajput blood, while those from within were of contamin-

* Note.—The same story is told of Salivahana, but the application to Tilokchand is valuable.

ated lineage, and occupied a doubtful position in the class system. The Kaiths of Roy Bareilly are never weary of repeating and embellishing the tale of their adoption, and the fact that to the present day their leading families receive the title of Thakur shows that it is not a pure invention. A probable tradition connects the final establishment of the Kanhpurias in Tiloi and Simrota with this chief's reign, and the story of his creation of new castes is too well attested and too much opposed to the spirit of Hindú invention to admit of doubt. More than one caste of Brahmans are grateful to him for their cord and their privileges, while it is indisputable that he largely increased the number of Kshatri clans. The Ahir Bhale Sultans, the Kahar Mahrors and the Pargahis directly ascribe their elevation to him; and numerous castes in the Fyzabad and Gondah districts, such as the Gundhurias, the Naipurias, the Barwars, and the Chahus claim to have been originally Bais, while the equal length of their pedigrees shows that they were established in those districts at about the commencement of the sixteenth century. There are besides numerous families of small Zemindars in the east of this district who call themselves Bharadhi Bais, and whose want of any tradition of immigration and peculiar religion distinguish them from the pure Bais of the west.

25. Two traditions connected with the Bais colonies on the Ghagra deserve to be recorded. One is that as Achal Singh was going to bathe at Fyzabad, a Bais zemindar offered him tribute, and the Rája gratefully ordered him to assume the new

name of Naipuria. Naipuria is not a more honorable name than Bais, and the literal tradition is obviously improbable, but the times to which the story refers make it significant.

Achal Singh was the last of eight Kalhans Rájas, and was succeeded in Gondah by 15 Bissen Rájas, the last of which was the celebrated Devi Bakhsh Singh who lost his estates in the mutiny. The numbers of the generations show that Achal Singh was cotemporaneous with Tilokchand, and the creation of the Naipurias is also referred to that Rája's reign.

26. A second tradition tells how Rai Amba, the son of Tilokchand, and his younger brother Rai Mardan were sent with 5,000 Cavalry to Janakpur Tirhut in the Nepal tarai. On their way back a Sakaldipi Brahman living on the banks of the Gumti complained to him that the Bhar King of Hastinaghat had made an offer of marriage to his daughter. The Rai represented that he could not take a fort with his cavalry, and advised the Brahman to pretend to submit to the desires of the Bhar. He consequently went to Hastinaghat, professed himself delighted at the prospect of so illustrious an alliance, and invited the Rája to come at an early date and bear away his bride. The unsuspecting monarch immediately set forth with his servants and people in holiday costume, and on retiring to their encampment after a day spent in revelry, fell an easy and perhaps inglorious prey to the arms of the Chhatri chieftain.

This service was rewarded by the grant of the zemindari of the Bhar kingdom. Rai Amba had a son called Rai Bidad, who lived at Gajanpur, and was succeeded by his son Rai Dudhich who turned Muhammadan, and was the ancestor of all the present Mussalman Bhale Sultans, a name derived from the Bhala or light javelin with which this cavalry was armed.

27 Tilokchand established a series of forts at Khiron (Sathanpur) Sangrampur and Roy Bareilly, the latter of which he entrusted to his favorite Diwan and half Rajput Lala Nab Rai. The whole of the traditions connected with this remarkable man lead us to suppose that he embraced the project of erecting a kingdom on the union of the hitherto discordant elements which he found in Oudh. With a singular absence of superstition he selected the class system as an admirable instrument for this end, and enrolled the principal families of his own army and of the conquered country in his own clan, fully comprehending that unity of name is almost as powerful as unity of interest.*

The boundaries of his rule do not now admit of being defined with absolute certainty, but it is possible that he was undisputed king in the twenty

* It should be remembered that what I have written of the Tilokchandi Bais, does not necessarily apply to the innumerable clans of Bais scattered over Eastern Oudh from Singramau in Jaunpur to the heart of the Barabunki District, and from the Ghagra to the Ganges. These, instead of the very highest, occupy nearly the lowest position among Oudh Chhatris. They differ from each other and from the real Bais in their family traditions; and while some can boast pedigrees of 25 generations, connecting them with the 13th century and Abhai Chand's invasion, lists of from 14 to 17 generations refer the great majority to the epoch of Tilokchand. It seems most probable that about 400 years ago numbers of the agricultural and military aristocracy of all castes assumed the title of Bais, in much the same way as the leading families of Orissa and parts of Central India are now claiming to be Chhatris.

two Bais pargannahs, while his influence must have extended far beyond those limits.

28 On his death the whole structure fell to pieces. Prithichand, one of his sons, took the Western Province with the ancestral castle of Sangrampur, the other Harhardeo, ruled over the East from Sathanpur, which his grandfather had built when he conquered the Bhars of the Khiron pargannah. The Kaiths of Roy Bareilly may or may not have acquired a limited dominion in the neighbourhood of that town. The Kanhpurias on the death of Prashad Singh fell into three branches, Janga Singh taking Tiloi, Madan Singh Simrota, and Man Singh Ateha.

Even the small clan of the Amethias in Haidargarh divided their possessions, Dingur taking Kumhrawan, Ram Singh Ansari, and Lohang Rai Akhaipur, with the pretentious titles of Rája, Rao, and Rana.

29. Nothing further of importance is recorded till we come to the reign of Humaiun, which was marked by a general conversion to the imperial religion without parallel in the annals of the district. The Bhale Sultans, the Bissens of Usmanpur and the zemindari families of the Bais of Gareu and of Sehen, the Chauhans of Ashanjagatpur and the Raghbansis of *oi* each contributed a convert. The Shekhs of Bhilwal made use of the opportunity presented by the improved condition of their co-religionists to recover their villages from the Amethias. The defeated Hindús submitted gracefully, and one of their number, Jai Singh, received the

then fashionable distinguishing mark of Islam. In the general confusion the Bhars left in that neighbourhood rose against the Hindús of Roy Barielly, and succeeded in killing Bhagoti Dass the representative of the Nab Rai who had been adopted and established there by Tilokchand. His five sons fled to Allahabad, whence they procured assistance, and their hearty vengeance closes the last appearance of the Bhars in this history.

30. The complete extinction of this people has occasioned much surprise, but it is not difficult to understand. Both the Mussalmans and the Hindús were conquering nations, and the hand of each was turned against the old inhabitants whom they wished to dispossess. Against one enemy the Bhars might have stood, and retained, even when defeated, a portion of their former rights, but in the wars between the invaders, each victory to whichever side it inclined was to them a new defeat, and entailed another onslaught on their possessions. As the balance swayed from side to side in the long and doubtful struggle between the Rajputs and the Eastern empire, they suffered with every change of fortune, and were conquered not once but many times. It was not one war of extermination, but the harassing attacks of two centuries, often repeated, each time with new vigour, before which they fell. Their customs, their position, and we may conjecture their language and nationality prevented any thing like a perfect union with either of their enemies. And yet there can be no doubt that while many were slain, and many fled to the north and to the east, many still survive in their old territory

under modern names. The statesmanship of Tilokchand elevated not a few of their principal families to the rank of Chhatris, and the Tirgunait Brahmans, the Kharibind Kurmis, the Bharotia and Bhuttia Ahirs, and many families of the Gujars are connected with their race by hardly doubtful tradition. A careful enquiry into the private worship and peculiar customs of the present castes of the district would probably still further disprove the tale of their utter extinction, but it can hardly be a matter for surprise that the more obvious evidences of their kingdom have been swept away.

31. For some time nothing of note occurred except a division in the Bais Rája's house. Either Deo Rai or his son Bhairon Dass separated from the main stock, and receiving Dhundhia Khera and four other villages as their share of the family property, founded the subsequently powerful house of the Babus or Raos of Baiswarra. It is probable that their propinquity to the throne, and the personal character of their chiefs from the first gave them great influence, as we find them very shortly afterwards contending on equal terms with the Rájas of Morarmau. The division probably took place shortly after the general conversion just described.

32. The end of Akbar's reign was a season of great vitality among the Rajput families, which showed itself after the usual fashion by the prosecution of the old, and the successful establishment of new family feuds. It is probable that the dearth of history during this reign may be ascribed to the firm and enlightened rule of the great Emperor. When the reins became relaxed, the whole district

was thrown into confusion. In Baiswarrá itself the most remarkable event was the spread of the Saibansi family. Shakt Singh, the fourth in descent from Harhardeo, invaded the Dalmau pargannah, which, though nominally in Baiswarra, contained too many powerful Muhammadan families to yield a ready obedience to Bais rule. The expedition was successful, and his sons Domandeo and Rudr Sah succeeded him in the Government. Of these the first was celebrated for the largeness of his family, the second for the number of his conquests.

Domandeo in his fort at Chiloli, added eight sons to the strength of his race, and Rudr Sah founded Sahpur and dispossessed his first cousins, the sons of the brothers of Shakt Singh, of the villages which had been assigned for their support. It appears that the achievements of the two brothers were regarded as equally brilliant, and they divided the estate they had acquired in equal shares, giving rise to the title Adhiarí, which, whilst it has been discarded by the proud house of Khajurganw, is retained with complacency by the less fortunate Thakurs of Simar Pahar, the descendants of Rudr Sah.

33. Of Domandeo's eight sons, three deserve especial notice. The eldest Ajit Singh succeeded to the Khajurganw chieftainship, and his brothers Pahar Singh and Mitrjit attended the brilliant court of Shahjahan, where their yeoman manners seem to have excited some amusement. The sarcasms of the courtiers were repelled by retorts which are fondly preserved by the family, but whose effect must have depended rather on their rudeness than on their wit. They accompanied Prince Aurangzib

on his illstarred expedition to Candahar, and in the retreat in 1647, A. D., were overwhelmed by an avalanche. * Their present representatives are the Talukdars of Pahu and Kurihar Satawan.

* Note.—Their date is further proved by a tradition which describes a duel between Mitr Jít and the famous Rustam Khan.

34. Shortly after the time of Shakt Singh's invasion of Dalmau, his first cousins Har Singh Rai and Bir Singh Rai, founded the present house of Naihstha by establishing themselves in the Behar pargannah. The Rája of Morarmau appears to have regarded their emigration as an invasion of his own dominions, and Bir Singh Rai was killed by his hand or his forces. The Rao of Dhundhia Khera took the part of the Naihsthas against the head of his family, and their combined efforts resulted in the death of Bhupat Singh, and the flight of his widow and son to Rudr Sah, the warlike chief of the Saibansis. He readily embraced the opportunity, and succeeded at least in re-establishing the youthful Chhatarpat Singh in Morarmau, though it does not appear that the Rájas ever regained their old position. The Naihsthas at any rate retained their new conquests. Bir Singh's sons remained in Patan Behar, while Ram Singh, the son of Harsingh Rai, removed into the Bachhrawan pargannah, and founded the house of Kurihar Sudauli.

35. While these events had been going on in Baiswarra the Kanhpurias had not been ingloriously quiet. Jagat Singh of Simrota acquired a name, though it is now difficult to say what for. His descendants state that the Emperor of Dehli presented him with a robe of honour, a drum and

a spear, for clearing the high road of Bhars. His cousin of Tiloi, Kandhe Rai, led his clansmen nominally on a pilgrimage to Dalmau, but actually on a raid for plunder and extended territory. He was resisted successfully by the Pathans of Pahremau, whose leader Main Khan, a name which does not occur in any pedigree, wounded the Kanhpuria chieftain, but purchased his success with his life.

36. The history of the Amethias is confined to the aggressions of the Pukhra Ansari house. Rao Kalian Sah saluted a celebrated fakir with the respectful address of *Bandagi Mian*, and the touched and grateful saint responded with a blessing on the "Rája." The title was eagerly caught up and has since been retained by that branch, who are known as the Bandagi Mian Amethias. He signalized his promotion in the Hindú hierarchy by attacking and despoiling his relations, the descendants of Lohang Rai, who had been for some generations peacefully established at Akhaiapur.

37. In the reign of Akbar, a family of Damghani Shekhs, rose to considerable power, and from Manikpur were the lords paramount of the country between Baiswarra, and the territories of the Kanhpurias and the Sombansis. They are said to have numbered 980 lords of palankins, and to have dined together in rotation at the same number of brick mansions. But the Nemesis which awaits the overproud was not sleeping, when they treated with incivility Makdum Jahania Jahangasht, a marvel of holiness, whose travelling performances with his unwashed feet completely eclipse those of the better known hero of Indo-Germanic romance with

his seven league boots. The angry saint heartily cursed his insulters, and found corn, water, and straw under the humble roof of a Gardezí widow, who with her infant son was the sole representative of that once honourable family. As ready to bless as he was to curse, he prophesied that the boy would rise to great eminence, and be known as Rája Abdul Kadir. The prophecy of course came true, even in the particular of the curious Hindú title. Abdul Kadir held the office of Mir Adal under Jahangir and Shah Jahan, and his wealth and magnificence are attested by the still beautiful remains of his palace on the banks of the Ganges. In imitation of some royal building at Dehli, he built a stone pleasure house supported on forty exquisitely carved pillars, but his master, incensed that a subject should venture to rival him, sent messengers to command that the building should be razed to the ground. Abdul Kadir got timely notice of the order, and having erected some sham tombs, still in existence, in the very centre of the place, represented that this was no pleasure house, but the mausoleum of his ancestors, an explanation which was admitted to be perfectly satisfactory.

Another large stone enclosed court excites the wonder of the neighbourhood by the fact, that although no drains are discoverable, the water of the rains never stands in it. A miracle which may be perhaps attributed partly to credulous exaggeration, and partly to the porous quality of the soil on which it is situated. Abdul Kadir was a distinctly historical character, and I have seen firmans in his

name from Shah Jahan, reciting the lamentable thinness of the population in the neighbourhood of Manikpur, and making small grants of land to Muhammadan settlers. In these firmans the title of Rája, which he probably adopted from the neighbouring chieftains, is always used, and it is still borne by the head of his family.

38. This rapid summary brings our history down to the end of the reign of Shah Jahan. The first years of his successor, saw the continued depression of the house of Morarmau. Amar Singh was engaged in an incessant petty warfare with Rao Purandar Singh of Dhundia Khera, in which he was invariably the loser, and his death was followed by the ruin of his family. The infant Rája Devi Singh was left in the charge of his uncle Gopal Singh, who betrayed his trust, and assuming in his own name the property of his orphan nephew and ward gave rise to the Rajkumari branch which retained almost all the Rája's villages till it was reduced by Rája Dirgbije Singh in the present century. Devi Singh when he came of age sought and obtained the sympathy of the Dehli Emperor, but the firmans by which Muhammad Shah reinstated him in his ancestral dignity were mere waste paper to the practically independent chieftains of Baiswarra. In the two long reigns of Purandar Singh and Mardan Singh, the Babús reached the zenith of their fortunes and acquired the supremacy of the whole of Baiswarra, with the exception of the territories of the powerful Saibansis of Dalmau and the Naihsthas of Sudauli.

39. The reaction against the encroachments of the Raos in Behar was headed by the young Chet Rai, an illegitimate son of Ban Singh of Sudauli. He collected the forces of his house and effectually deterred the aggressor from making any attempt in that direction. His services do not appear to have commanded the gratitude of the reigning chief, who was only compelled by force to recognize his independent position in the pargannah of Morawan.

Alone among the Baís he ventured to offer any serious opposition to Nawab Saadat Khan. The story of his siege in his fort at Pachhimganw need not be retold, but some doubt is thrown on the accounts which represent it as merely a sham fight, by the fact that he remained for some time an exile at the court of Panna and did not return till after the death of the great Nawab.

40. The Saibansis in the meanwhile continued to increase and spread in peace, only perhaps occasionally interrupted by boundary disputes with their Kanhpuria neighbours. Rana Ajitmal's younger son Gulab Sah separated, and was the founder of the Gaura house, second in importance to that of Khajurganw. Rana Kharag Singh who succeeded Ajit Mal, had two sons, the younger of which built a fort at Shankarpur, since famous as the home of Shiuprashad Singh, and his still greater son Rana Beni Madho Baksh.

41. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, Chabeli Ram, an official in the Allahabad district, was one of the numerous leaders, who, throwing off the semblance of subordination, endeavoured to

erect an independent kingdom on the ruins of the Mughal Empire. Having occupied the fort at Allahabad and collected for his own use the revenues of the surrounding country, he crossed the Ganges at Dalmau, and was met by the Saibansi clans under the chieftains of Gaura and Khajurganw. After an obstinate resistance, the Rajputs were defeated, and Chabeli Ram possessed himself of the western pargannahs of the district. On the accession of Muhammad Shah, he was recalled to Allahabad, and after successfully repulsing two imperial armies, was converted, not conquered, by being recognized as Subehdar of Allahabad. Amar Singh never recovered his position, and it was not till some twenty years later that his grandson Pher Sah was admitted to engage for the four villages of Khajuron, Sareli, Bajpaipur and Hajipur, and resumed the lead of his clan levies. It is possible that if their Rana had been present, Saadat Khan's assessment of the Dalmau pargannahs would not have been without its romance.

42. The Amethias, were never of sufficient importance to have a very interesting history. This period was marked for them by the separation of the branches of Usah from the Kumhrawan, and Ramnagar from the Pukhra Ansari stem. The Zemindars or Ranas of Akhaiapur successfully retaliated on the latter house for the injuries they had received from Kalian Singh, and accomplished the death of Rája Jai Singh, whose son Shiuambar was after a short dispossession reinstated in his own villages by the Government officials, and was soon engaged in prosecuting the old feud with the Shekhs of Bhilwal.

43. Kandhe Rai was succeeded on the throne of Tiloi by Udebhan, who verified the statement of the Tiloi Kanhpurias, that every other of their Rájas was a fainéant. Under his weak Government the Kurmis who occupied* forty-two villages in Jugdispur, rose in arms. Their leader was a Dasi Ram who embraced the Mussalman faith, and procured assistance from his co-religionists on the banks of the Ganges. With a body of seven hundred Mughal cavalry he plundered and burnt the villages of the Kshatri zemindars whose Rája could do nothing to protect them. Fraud was successful where force failed, and a Gotam in the Kanhpurias' pay gained Dasi Ram's confidence, and treacherously assassinated him out hunting. For this service he was granted the Kurmi's villages, some of which are still held by his descendant, Mahpal Singh Talukdar of Bara.

*NOTE.

Bealisas are perhaps exceptionally common in this neighbourhood; the tahsíl of Haidargurh alone has the three Amethia bealisas of Ramnagar, Sonákpur, and Bara, the Pandes Bealisi of Shiunam, the Kurmis of Sehganw, the Sombansis of Bainti, the Shekhs of Bhilwal and the Dubes of Kisliha. The term seems to denote any small collection of villages held by one coparcenary body.

The suppression of this Kurmi insurrection is with probability referred to the commencement of the vigorous reign of Surat Singh, who succeeded to the throne between 1670 and 1680 A. D.

This prince, though blind, was distinguished for his ability and enterprise, and uniting the scattered branches of his clan under one banner was the first of the powerful chiefs of Tiloi who ruled with semi-regal authority over a district, which at one time comprised fourteen entire pargannahs.

44. A short sketch of the history of his neigh-

bours and enemies, the Sombansis of Partabgarh may here be introduced, and it will not be foreign to the object of my report. This tribe are found at the beginning of connected history at the fort of Jhusi near Allahabad. They have no further traces of an immigration, and their tradition connects them for an indefinite period with their present dominions. The family worship is paid to five saints, four of them princes of the Sombansi blood, and the fifth a Gahrwar Rája of Benares, who successfully abstracted themselves into nonentity during the Dwapur Yug. The principal of these, Alarikh, gave his name to the town and pargannah Alarikhpur, contracted into Aror, and since named Partabgarh, and is perhaps identical with the Alup Rikh of Dalmau tradition, who resided in the Ganges forests, and whose teaching enabled Dal and Bal to attain their wide dominion. Two remarks may be made here, first, that the worship of the manes of their ancestors is common to the Sombansis and several low castes in their neighbourhood. Bare Purukh is one of the favorite local Penates, and shares with Siaur the jackal and Kare Deo the snake, the chief offerings of home devotion. Another is that the most ancient tradition discovers the Sombansis on the northern, and the dawn of history on the southern banks of the Ganges. An intermediate tradition attested by the numerous remains of their peculiar forts, points to the existence of a Bhar ráj in the territory occupied before and after by the Kshatris. The commencement of the pedigree is as usual marked by some historical convulsion. Sukrama Singh had three sons, one of whom went to Nepal, the second

to Hurdui, while the third remained at Jhusi. The son of the latter was cursed by a Mussalman Fakir Shekh Takki, and lost his kingdom. The usual posthumous son was born in exile, and with the name of Lakhan Sen founded the kingdom of Aror. One of his sons was a convert to Islam, and in the eighth generation some subordinate centres of power began to branch off from the main ráj. No prince of this race attained any extraordinary distinction before Pratap Singh, who in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, consolidated the power of his clan, built a huge new fort at Aror, which has since been known by his name, and assumed all the characteristics of independent sovereignty between the territories of the Bachgotis, the Rájes of Manikpur, and the Kanhpurias. He maintained an organized army composed chiefly of the militia levies of his clan, and furnished with a corps of sappers and miners enrolled from the Lunias of his pargannah, and he provided for the population and tillage of his dominions by liberal grants of waste land to Brahmans and others.

45. A prince of Surat Singh's energy was not likely to remain long at peace with his neighbours, and a friendly interview afforded him the desired pretext for invading the* contiguous domains of the Sombansis. Pratap Singh was lame and on asking after Surat Singh's health, received the ordinary

*Note.—The present territories of the Kanhpurias and Sombansis are separated by the wide estates of the Bissens, but it does not appear that at the time of Surat Singh the leaders of that tribe had attained the dignity of independent sovereigns. A very large part of their present property was under the rule of the Mussalmans of Manikpur, and of their three principal houses we find Rampur ranged with the Kanhpuria, and Dera and Dhingwas with the Sombansi. It is probable that they respectively owned the nominal supremacy of the chieftain in whose army they fought.

polite reply "apke kadam dekhne se" to which he angrily retorted with reference to Surat Singh's blindness "I too am well" "apke chashm dekhne se." The personal insult was eagerly welcomed, and Surat Singh marched at the head of his clansmen against Partabgarh. He was met at Hindor, and an obstinate battle resulted in the defeat of the Kanhpurias. As their chieftain was being carried from the field he felt the wind strike on his sightless eyes and asked from which quarter it came ; and the answer, from the west, conveyed the first information of his defeat. His retreating forces were covered by a zemindar of. Nain, who commanded the then unusual arm of a hundred matchlockmen, and who for this received the grant of thirteen villages in the Salone pargannah which formed the root of the present large Nain talukas.

46. Surat Singh was succeeded at Tiloi by Gopal Singh, who had two sons Mohan and Niwal. The latter, though the youngest, held the first place in his father's affections, who formed the design of presenting him to the clan as their chieftain instead of his elder brother, who was one eyed. Mohan Singh was not the man to permit the quiet transfer of his own rights to another, and he disappointed his father by accelerating his death. The whole force of the tribe was collected round Tiloi, and it was intended that Niwal Singh should be proclaimed publicly the heir to the ráj. Mohan Singh immediately took steps to prevent this occurrence. He first went to his mother and compelled her to disclose the place where the treasure was buried; and then taking a faithful Bahelia

whose descendants are still in honorable employ at Tiloi, proceeded to his father's room. The servant took aim from the doorstep, and Gopal Singh fell shot through the back. Mohan then rushed forward, cut the old man's head off, and stooping over the body made the royal tilak on his forehead in his father's hot blood. He then put on the ornaments of his new rank and went to the army. The news of the parricide had gone before him, and he found the soldiers on the verge of mutiny, nor was subordination restored till he assured them that the death of the old Rája would not affect their pay or injure any one but the murderer himself, who took on his own head the wrath of the gods. He deemed it wise however to distract their attention from the horrid event, and inaugurated his rule by leading them against the rich Saiads of the south; where the plunder of Mustafabad confirmed the wavering in their allegiance. On his return to Tiloi he was beseiged by the Diwan of Hasanpur, who had collected a large force to punish the son who had murdered his father, and the feudatory who had affixed the royal mark with his own hands, and without the consent of his Suzerain. The fort was beleaguered for seven days, and on each day the Diwan created a new Rája from the leading Kanhpurias who stood aloof from their chieftain. Finally Mohan Singh gave in, consented to recognize the Diwan as his liege lord, and received the tilak afresh at his hands. Inheriting the aggressive policy of his grandfather and carrying it out with greater success, he next set the whole forces of his clan in motion against the Bais of Dalmau. Amar Singh the Rana met him with nearly equal

forces, and the boundaries of Baiswarra and Kanhpuria land were fixed in the very centre of Roy Bareilly, along the line of the Jahanabad Muhalla. The invader is still remembered at Roy Bareilly as the founder of the Rájghát on the river Sai. Turning northward and reducing in succession the Mussalman villages of Pahremau, Amawan, Oiáh, Kathwara, Rahi, Rasehta, Bawan Buzurg and Balla, he marched through the Jagdispur pargannah, where he was met by the* Bhale Sultans, whom he forced to recognize his supremacy; and completed his circle of conquest by marching through Inhona and Sabeha to Manikpur, whence he returned to his home at Tiloi. The season of his repose was occupied by the celebration of his marriages first into the family of the old allies of his house the Bissens of Rampur, and secondly with a daughter of the Bharelias of Surajpur.

* Note.—He appears to have been called in by Rája Nihal Khan of Jagdispur, who was on bad terms with his leading feudatories.

47. After a short breathing time he started on a fresh expedition with extended views. Marching through the recently conquered pargannah of Hurdui he encountered the Naihsthas of Bachhrawan under the command of the gallant young bastard of Sudauli, and his total discomfiture deterred him from ever again attacking the too powerful chieftains of Baiswarra. He might find some consolation in the easy conquest of the eastern parts of Nawabganj and south of Faizabad, and when he finally returned to Tiloi he was the acknowledged master of 14 pargannahs. When Saadat Khan came back from the reduction of Bhagwant Rai

Khichar, he marched against Tiloi. The Rája was old and feeble, and when a sally led by his younger brother Niwal Singh had failed, he submitted unconditionally, and the next year saw his death.

48. With the commencement of the Nawabi the intricate task of fixing dates and synchronisms ceases, and there is no further difficulty in carrying the history down to the present day. Pem Singh succeeded his father Mohan Singh, at Tiloi, and is only famous for having married a princess of the Gahrwars of Bijepur. The lady is represented to have fallen in love with him and compelled the match, but the brilliancy of this chieftain's position dispenses with the necessity of so improbable an explanation. Power and wealth regulate Chhatri marriages almost as frequently as caste, and, to take an instance from this very family, Tiloi alone of all the Kanhpúrias refuses to give its daughters to the Bais.

49. After a reign of five years Pem Singh was succeeded by Balbhaddra Singh, the last of the great chieftains of this house. A child at the time of his father's death, (it is said of him, as of almost all distinguished Hindús, that he was posthumous) his whole life was spent in arms. When quite young he led his forces to the defence of his faith at Banaras, and is said to have chased back to Mirzapur the Mughals who wished to profane a Hindú temple. His next exploit was the protection of the Rája of Bansi against the Surajbansis of Amorha and the Pathans of Sattasi. On two distinct occasions he served in the armies of Dehli; against the Rája of Bhartpur, and the Mahrattas; and the

exaggeration of his chronicler relates that unaided he captured the Rája of Sattara, and brought him in an iron cage to the presence of his imperial master. For these services he was invested in succession with Mansabs of four thousand and five thousand, and was presented with a band of honor. It is said that in the intoxication of victory, his drummer beat a roll in the Emperor's Durbar. The grave impertinence was only punished by a mild rebuke, and the descendants of the forward musician still beat the drum for the Rájas of Tiloi. It is possible that the possession of Mohan Singh's fourteen pargannahs was confirmed at Dehli, but the grant if made was not long recognized at Lucknow* The remainder of his life was spent in an unavailing struggle with the Wazir, whose absence in Bengal enabled him to drive out the officials who had been left in charge of Jagdispur and Prashadipur, and temporarily to attain something like the power of his predecessors. On the return of the Nawab he was hunted from place to place, and he was finally surprised at his devotions and cut down before an image of Mahadeo in the Kadhu Nali in Jagdispur. The Muhammadan trooper who brought his head to the King was rewarded for his valuable

* Note.—The only documentary evidence which the present Rája could produce on the subject, is a Wajib-ul-arz of several heads addressed by Balbhaddra Singh to Abul Mansur Khan. One head is as follows:—

I am the old Zemindar of fourteen pargannahs inherited from Mohan Singh (namely Jais, Nasirabad, Salon, Roy Bareilly, Manikpur, Hurdui, Inhona, Sabeha, Takia, Basarhi, Rudoli, Dariabad, Saidanpur, Bilawan,) this Zemindari has been reduced; let me again hold it on the payment of 2½ lacs revenue.

This is crossed with the ambiguous order

"Ba dastur-i-Kadím"

Another curious head is,

"Let me deduct the expenses of my army from my revenue, or have them paid in full by Government."

The order on this is "Deduct from revenue." It is obvious that this proves very little but consciousness of power in the petitioner.

tribute by the grant of two villages free of revenue in Gondah. It was at this time that the Chob or Chuab Nali was finally recognized as the boundary of Baiswarra and Kanhpuria land.

50. Balbhaddra was childless, and his death which took place in the summer of 1784 A. D. was followed by a long interregnum. Of his two widowed Ranis, one was immolated, and from the pyre formally invested Chhatardhari Singh of Shahmau with the Rája's cap. The adoption was not recognized by the whole tribe, and the living Rani adopted Shankar Singh the ancestor of the present Rája. For fifteen years a war of succession was waged without any decisive result, and a compromise was eventually effected, by which both competitors received the style of Rája, and neither the throne of Tiloi. Shankar Singh took his title from Asni, and Chhatardhari from Shahmau, and it was not till some time afterwards that the former, a prudent and peaceful prince, recovered the centre of the traditions of his tribe. Tiloi has since descended quietly to the present owner, Rája Jagpal Singh. Chhatardari's grandson Dirgaj Singh died without offspring, and was succeeded at Shahmau by his adopted son Rája Sukhmangal Singh.

51 At the time of Saadat Khan's invasion, Simrota was held by Mandhata Singh. He was left in possession of his ancestral pargannah and conciliated by the honorary distinction of a drum and the titular Mansab of seven thousand men. His great grandson was without children, and adopted his first cousin Raghunath Singh, the Babú of Chandapur, who was succeeded by his son

Shiudarshan Singh, a fine specimen of the Rajput, celebrated all over the district for a rare combination of bodily and mental vigour; and to whom I am under considerable obligations for the intelligent and even learned assistance he afforded me in collecting materials for this report. He has retired from the management of his estate, which is held by his grandson Rája Jagmohan Singh.

52. Of the Amethias the only two houses which require mention are those of Kumhrawan and Pukhra Ansari. Of these the latter, though the younger, always seems to have been the most important. The defeat of Shujauddaula by the English encouraged Amar Singh to assert his independence by driving out the local officials, but his success was very transient, and the return of the Persian was followed by his reduction and death. Madho Singh was brought up in his mother's house at Mankapur and only recovered Lahi and one other village at the intercession of the Resident. Having once regained his footing he found no difficulty in putting together a taluka after the usual fashion of the time. On his death without children, the estate fell into great disorder, and after having been held successively by a number of his relations was finally acquired by Rája Sahajram Bakhsh, who, when he also died childless, was succeeded, under an order of the Chief Commissioner, by his father Rája Umrau Singh. Sahajram Bakhsh was particularly troublesome to the Royal officials, but it would be tedious to relate his petty battles and temporary dispossessions.

53. Rája Rajan Singh of Kumhrawan died

childless, and his death was followed by the usual disputes which were ended by the succession of Rája Araru Singh, with the title of adopted son.

54. Pher Singh the Rana emerged from the cloud which had concealed his family since the defeat of his grandfather by Chabeli Ram, at about the same time as Chet Rai returned from his exile at Panna. With the exception of the name, Mr. Elliot has given a correct account of his disputes with the Raos of Dhundhia Khera. After his defeat there he was besieged in his fort at Khajurganw by Chet Rai, who drove him out and symbolized the destruction of the place by throwing five of its bricks into the Ganges. His descendants were generally in arms either against Government or their own relations, and their old prestige rendered the acquisition of a taluka in their case exceptionally rapid. Rana Raghunath Singh was engaged in continual wars with his cousin Beni Madho Bakhsh, whose genius threatened to eclipse the leading house, and transfer the title of Rana to Shankarpur. A ten years' war was ended by the usual compromise by which both competitors were awarded the title. In 1843, A. D. Haidar Hearsey on his way to Partabgarh had left a small detachment at Bihtarganw. The Rana considered this an unwarrantable interference and burnt the station down. Haidar Hearsey was furiously angry at hearing of this act of impertinence and was not appeased by the ill success of the artillery he sent to chastise the aggressor. He soon arrived in person, and defeating the Rana before his new fort at Hajipur, drove him into the old stronghold of

Khajurganw. Here the besiegers were worthily resisted, and their commander himself pointed the gun which he had slung in the branch of a tree overlooking the fortress. Eventually Raghunath Singh escaped to the dense jungles of Nain, and returned to the enjoyment of his estates when the danger had passed. He lived to engage under the English for the largest estate in Baiswarra, and was succeeded by his grandson Rana Shankar Bakhsh.

55. Gaura presents the same picture of continual opposition to the Lucknow Government, of which some details will be given further on. Din Sah, on one of the rare occasions when he condescended to appear in the Dalmau kucheri, drew his sword on the tahsildar and was himself promptly cut down. On the death of his brother, Lal Sah possessed himself of his villages and rapidly acquired an estate. His usurpation of course led to a continual dispute between his descendants and those of his brother, and in 1830 A. D. Incha Singh the Nazim divided the estate, giving three-fifths to Lal Sah's representative, and the remainder to Bajrangbali with the name of Narindpur Charhwar. From this division it is possible that Lal Sah was really the elder brother, but Din Sah was up to the time of his death certainly the most prominent of the two.

56. Bikramajit, a younger son of Lal Sah, got the small estate of Khajuri. The character of his clan is illustrated by a story told of him in which he rivals Mucius Scævola. Being informed by the Nazim in kucheri that his assessment was to be raised, he replied by holding up his thumb, a coarse

gesture with the same meaning as is expressed in English by extending the fingers from the nose. The incensed official directed that the thumb should be cut off, on which Bikramajit turned to his servant, and taking his betel scissors, himself cut off the last joint, threw it in the Nazim's face, and walked out of the tent.

57. Another story is told of a Bais zemindar who when he was brought from prison to kucheri, made a dart at the sword which was lying before the Nazim's masnad and struck at his tyrant's head. The discomposed official rolled backward off his pile of cushions, the sword passed through his clothes, and the Bais immediately plunged it into his own body and fell down dead. We may perhaps congratulate ourselves that such scenes do not occur in our own kucheris.

58. The taluka of Girdhapur was got together by mortgage by a younger branch of the Rana's house, who were originally zemindars of Kiratpur Charhwar.

59. Of Kuribar Satawan little remains to be said. When Gurbakhsh Singh died childless, Rana Raghunath Singh managed to get his ilaka, and kept it till 1832 A. D. Fateh Bahadur, the adopted son, recovered it in the succeeding year with the help of Rana Beni Madho, who stood his security, and in his turn possessed himself of the estate. General Sleeman interfered, and Fateh Bahadur recovered on the payment of Rs. 40,000 arrears. His son Chandrapal Singh, succeeded him, and died im-

mediately on emerging from the tutelage of the Court of Wards.

60. Of Domandeo's descendants, Pilkha and Pahu remain. The original village of the first family was Jagatpur Kotah, and their attempts to form a taluka were not successful. Two small collections of villages were made, but both were almost immediately absorbed by the Ranas, and they now possess little more than their zemindari inheritance. The latter house does not fall within this district, and when I was transferred to another I had as yet made no enquiries into their history.

61. Of Rudr Sah's descendants, Daulat Singh of Simar Pahar engaged for only one village. His son Lalji began the foundation of a taluka, and maintained it in two fights with the Nazims Jai Ram Pande in 1820 and Kutbuddin Hasan Khan in 1827 A. D. His wealth is proved by the fact that he built the great bazaar of Lalganj, the central mart of Baiswarra. The widow of his son adopted Basant Singh who himself died childless during the mutiny, and was succeeded by his widow Dariau Kunwar.

62. Almost the same story might be told with altered names for Chandania ; Dalput Singh, the ally of Din Sah of Gaura, was temporarily driven out, and separate engagements taken for all the neighbouring villages. On the return of Lal Sah he too returned and he and his son put together the estate now held by Sirdar Singh.

63. At the time of Saadat Khan's invasion, Sadak Singh, the half brother of Chet Rai, held the gaddi of Kurihar Sudauli. His importance may be conjectured from his marriage with a sister of the celebrated rebel Bhagwant Rai Khichar, and both he and his father ruled an extensive tract stretching from Bachhrawan into the heart of the Lucknow district, embracing, at any rate nominally, nine pergannahs.

The direct line became extinct on the death of the brothers Bikramajit and Sikandar Singh, and a cousin who had been converted to Muhammadanism was adopted as successor. His son found no difficulty in returning to the religion of his forefathers, but the family still fasten their clothes in the Muhammadan fashion. A son of Rahmat Ali Singh acquired the small estate of Udhrera, a great portion of which was almost immediately lost to the baniahs of Morawan.

64. The Rája's house remained in the obscurity into which it had fallen on the death of Amar Singh. Drigbije Singh was like Tilokchand brought up in his mother's house at Patti Saifabad, and on reaching manhood succeeded in regaining some of the villages which had been usurped by his cousins of the Ráj Kumari branch. Up till annexation he never engaged for more than Rs. 5000 or 6000, and the present estates of his son Rája Shiupal Singh were mostly confiscated from Babú Ram Bakhsh and Rana Beni Madho, and granted to the Rája in reward for his saving European lives during the mutiny.

65. The Kanungos and Kazis of Roy Bareilly were naturally anxious to take a place in the talukdari system, but their attempts were always foiled by their too powerful neighbours, and they were only able to acquire the small estates of Hardaspur and Binohra.

66. Each family of Mussalmans was vexed by its special enemy among the Hindús. Those of Bareilly by the Kaiths, of Bhilwal by the Amethias, and of Pahremau by the Kanhpurias. Up to annexation the first two were tolerably evenly matched, but the Pathans of Pahremau had long been overpowered. Subdued by Mohan Singh of Tiloi, they afterwards enjoyed a brief respite during the vigorous period of Mughal ascendancy, and were again utterly ruined by Tiloi and Simrota on the revival of Hindú power. For thirty years they supplicated the courts for their ancestral villages and were reinstated at the fortunate moment when the wicked ceased to have the power of troubling. During the mutiny they were again burnt out, and that they now hold a small estate is to be ascribed only to the restoration of English Government.

The Chaudhris of Khiron were more successful, and Raghunath Singh, the descendant of a Janwar soldier who had settled there in Aurangzeb's reign, supplied by his money his want of family interest. He held his villages however on a very precarious tenure, and was constantly being ousted by one or another of the Bais competitors, nor is it likely that his possession would have been long maintained if annexation had not frozen the waves.

67. Though not falling directly within the scope of this report, it may not be out of place to mention that the once illustrious Rájes never succeeded in acquiring any large estates. In about 1750 A. D. a Mahratta force under a leader known on the spot as Bargi Rao, occupied Manikpur and found ten months amply long enough to ruin the local chieftains, and impress a lasting memory of their sojourn. A Muhammadan family is not supported by that living organization which preserves the Hindú clan and its Rája, and when it falls it rarely recovers itself. Thus the Gardezis retained little but their title and the ruins of their palaces, and when the game of taluka-making commenced were unable to take a hand. The Bissens and the Kanhpurias filled the void they had left, and absorbed into their estates the villages of their old pargannahs.

68. I feel that I must apologise for sending in this meagre and unsatisfactory account of the events of the last hundred and fifty years. When I was transferred to another district I had only very partially completed the collection of materials for the earlier part of our history, and the enquiries I was then making into the family religion and origin of the lower castes have been nearly useless. Of this latter period I have no information except what I acquired incidentally during my investigations into other points of interest, and I have not been able to submit even that to any minute criticism. The three prominent characters just before annexation were Babú Ram Bakhsh, Rana Raghunath Singh, and Rana Beni Madho Bakhsh, the two for-

mer supported by great wealth and the prestige of an illustrious pedigree; the latter celebrated for his undaunted bravery and extraordinary bodily vigour. As it is not improbable that these would have eventually divided almost all Baiswarra, an account of their fortunes would be interesting, and it might be compiled with accuracy and ease.

69. Hitherto it has been my endeavour to state clearly the bare facts through which the present social order has been developed, but my report would be incomplete, if not unintelligible, without a short commentary describing the stages and manner of the development. This divides itself naturally into three periods, the first extending from the invasion of Shahabuddin Ghori to the downfall of Jaunpur, the second beginning with the kingdom of Tilokchand and ending with the reconquest by Saadat Khan, and the last reaching down to annexation, during which the whole social fabric was changed by the Lucknow Government. Throughout, the main fact has been the living growth of Hindúism, beside which the Muhammadan empires with their elaborate revenue systems and network of officials have been merely secondary causes, like artificial dams, temporarily impeding and distorting the course of a strong river.

70. Of the first period little remains to be said. The Hindú clans were slowly and painfully acquiring their hold on the soil which was never to be permanently loosened. Their opponents were the Muhammadans, who like them were invaders, and a Government already established in the country.

There are good grounds for believing that they found congenial elements on the spot, in the remains of older Hindú clans who were living in a state of subjection to the Bhars, but this subject is enveloped in much obscurity, and I have not the information which would enable me to speak with clearness and certainty.

71. All account of Alauddin's connection with Oudh has been omitted. There can be no doubt that he sent frequent expeditions into the country, and his name is still dimly remembered, but the fact that Kshatri pedigrees are silent on the point, proves that at that time the great clans of the present day were not in the position of rulers; and the not unfrequent discovery of old Muhammadan coins in Bhar remains countenances the conjecture that the kingdom of that people was still flourishing. He yet lives vividly in Manikpur tradition which represents that Jalaluddin's head was cut off as he was crossing the river from Karra, and carried by the waves of the Ganges to the opposite shore, confusing with the more famous story some circumstances of a Jaunpur sedition more than a hundred and fifty years later. A bluff promontory overlooking Karra may have been the site of the fatal pavilion, and three small tombs are pointed out as covering the bodies of the old Emperor and two of his relations. Amidst a tangled underwood of briers, the remains of an ancient mosque and a small stone slab before which villagers worship the impress of the feet of Buddha, under the name of the Bhumia Rani (earth queen) carry the imagination past a series of fallen empires.

72. Everything leads me to believe that up to the end of the first chapter the invading Hindús had acquired no prominent position. Their most powerful clan do not pretend to have spread beyond the very limited tract now known as the seven and a half pargannahs, and the names Sidhupur and Ghatampur, with their separate families of Sidhupuri and Ghatampuri Bais, probably mark the encroachments of successive Rájas. After having been driven back by the Jaunpur empire the returning wave found nothing to oppose it, and spread far and wide over the whole of the country.

73. The kingdom of Tilokchand probably resembled in every way that of the great Hindú Rájas of the west, and it is not likely that he was more than nominally dependent on the distant and distracted empire of Dehli. It has been seen the kingdom broke up immediately on the death of its founder, but it was unquestionably at this time that the country was first roughly distributed among the clans according to their position on the map of the present day. The accounts of the half century which elapsed between the death of Tilokchand and the accession of Akbar, are very meagre, but no important new houses were thrown off, and it may be surmised that the Rája of Murarmau, and the Rana of Khiron, and the Kanhpuria chieftains of Tiloi, Ateha and Simrota, each exercised on a smaller scale, the sovereign powers of the first great Rája. Some light is thrown on the influence of Tilokchand by the thorough insignificance of the older Kaithola Rája, when compared with the descendants of Prashad Singh, a cadet

of the same house, whose greatness dates from this period.

74. Under the vigorous administration of Akbar and his successors, the Hindú clans were naturally much depressed, and driven, so to speak, nearer to the soil. Their connection with the villages in their domain became much closer, new villages were founded, and the increasing numbers of each family led to the establishment of the non-cultivating village proprietors who are now known in our courts as old zemindars. The intervention of a foreign rule and the diminished danger of invasion from without, deprived the Rájas of half their attributes; the principle of unity was lost sight of, and each member of a leading house was able when he separated to assume in his new home almost all the privileges retained by the head of his family. The ties of kinsmanship were however still vividly recognized, and at the end of this period instead of a few unconnected Rájas, we find hierarchies of powerful zemindars, each immediate proprietor and landlord of a few villages from which he drew his subsistence, and acknowledged head of a larger circle from which he collected the militia levies of his clansmen and their dependents for the prosecution of his private disputes, or at the summons of the chieftain of his tribe.

75. When the Mahratta wars distracted the forces of the empire, and the province of Oudh was no longer regarded at the Mughal Court, the clan system at once reassumed its old form as far as it was compatible with the modifications which had been introduced during the preceding century. The

flames of war broke out over the whole district, and the subordinate centres of power united themselves for conquest or defence under the banners of a leading Rája, who again exercised the Royal authority which had fallen into abeyance. In his mud fort surrounded by the mud hovels of his servants and the few handicraftsmen needful for the ordinary wants of himself and his household, he received in council the heads of the infeudated families, or held a court of justice to dispose of the principal disputes of his subjects; and when he went to war he was followed by an enthusiastic army attached to himself and to each other by the closest ties of common origin and common interests. Within his ráj he exercised every degree of authority from the absolute proprietorship of his private villages to the receipt of a feudal allegiance from the great zemindars; and isolated in the midst, stood the large Muhammadan towns where the Kazi still dispensed the Kuran, and the Kotwal preserved order and collected a few unimportant transit dues.

76. Two direct acts of ownership were exercised by the Rája over the soil. The first was the appropriation of villages for the support of the younger branches of his family and his principal retainers. When the head fort became over-crowded, one or more communities of cultivators were assigned to each of the offshoots which could not be accomodated at home, the assignees went to reside in the villages granted to them, and instead of being an inconvenience and possible source of danger, contributed to the power of their chieftain. These idle and warlike bodies of zemindars were found so

useful in times of disturbance that their number was continually being increased by Rajputs from the Duab, who came to reside at the direct invitation of the lord paramount, or by members of wedding processions who were induced to make their visit permanent.

77. The second direct proprietary act was the allotment of small patches of uncultivated land chiefly to Brahmans. Such grants were sanctioned by all the solemnity of religious formalities, and the grantor had the satisfaction of knowing that he secured the peace of his soul in the next world, while the presentation of a handsome tribute or the remission of a troublesome debt facilitated the conduct of the wars of this, and relieved him of the necessity, always so hateful to a Kshatri, of making a regular sale of his land. Similar grants were often made from purely superstitious motives, to reward a successful astrologer, pension the family priest, or secure the services of a celebrated pundit. Generally it may be said that while the right to pay, as well as exemption from, the revenue was conferred by the Dehli Government, the proprietary right in the soil was derived from the Hindú Rája. Imperial grants though occasionally frequent in the neighbourhood of Muhammadan colonies, bear a very small proportion indeed to the mass of proprietary rights derived from the latter source.

78. Two other rights may be enumerated as invariable attributes of Hindú chieftainship. The first was the calling out of the clan levies. The principal subordinates held their lands on the condition of military service; and the regular enforcement

of this condition by the Rája against the larger zemindars, and by them over the villages within the circle of their influence, is one of the most striking points of resemblance between the social system of India, and the feudalism of Europe. The exercise of this right was strongly approved of by public opinion, and the man who refused to attend when the Gohar was sent round, was sure at least of having his house burnt about his head.

79. The second was the receipt of tribute which his subjects never withheld even in the worst days of his struggle with the central authority, and sent to him with almost equal regularity when he was ruling with despotic power from his fort, and when he was a proscribed rebel hiding for his life in the jungles. Twice at least in every year, at the Holí in spring, and at the festival which commemorates Ram's victory over Rawana in the autumn, the villagers flocked to offer their tribute to their hereditary ruler; and it is probably from this source that his never overfull treasury received its principal supplies.

80. In this way the Kanhpuria had carried his conquests from Roy Bareilly and Manikpur far into the Faizabad and Nawabganj districts; the Sombansi was the head of another considerable principality containing the present seat of his clan, and stretching across the Ganges to the East of Allahabad; the Rana led a number of almost equal chieftains in Roy Bareilly, Dalmau, Khiron, and Sareni. The Rao of Dhundia Khera ruled from Behar to the centre of Unau; and the Naihstha at

Sudauli held Bachhrawan and several pargannahs in the present district of Lucknow.

81. No very clear record is preserved of the relations which existed between the Hindú and Mughal Governments; generally the chiefs seem to have held aloof, and looked on at a system of officials they were not strong enough to interfere with. Occasionally they contributed a quota of men to the Imperial Forces, and every now and then a troublesome chief was conciliated by jagir of territories already practically his own. The grants of mansabs became especially common in the period of weakness which succeeded the outbreak of the Mahratta wars, when the Emperors were glad to attach to themselves powerful elements which they could not subdue. But we never find any great house taking a place in the regular ranks of local officials, and the fact that the office of Chaudhri was never held by one of the leading clans of the district, throws some light on their position. The nature of this office is accurately described by Mr. Elliot in his chronicles of Unau. It was generally held by respectable but thoroughly second rate families, such as the Janwars of Khiron, Kathbais of Jagdispur, the Shekhs of Bhilwal and the Kaiths of Roy Bareilly. The Bais, the Kanhpurias, Sombansis and even the Amethias never contributed a single member to this order. The Bissens of Rampur, might be quoted as an exception, but the universal tradition of the neighbourhood asserts that they rose on the ruins of the Ráje family of Manikpur after its destruction by the Mahrattas, and its truth is in

my opinion strongly confirmed by the fact that they and not the Rájes were the pargannah Chaudhris. Another proof of their subordinate position will be found in the note to page 36.

82. Saadat Khan's invasion of this district was particularly well timed. Mardan Singh was past the prime of life, and the expiring embers of the opposition to the aggressive policy of Dundhia Khera had been resuscitated by Chet Rai: where one chieftain might have been successful two were certain to fail. The Ranas of Khajurganw had shortly before been humbled by Chabeli Ram of Allahabad; and the Rája of Tiloi, after having reduced all other elements of resistance was too old and feeble to assert his independence, as he certainly would have ten years earlier.

83. The first problem which presented itself to the conqueror was the union of the elements he found existing in Oudh, under his own central authority; and a promising solution was arrived at when he acknowledged the chiefs in their respective pargannahs, and entrusted to them the collection of the Government Revenue. The arrangement was in every way a good one, as the pargannah boundaries very generally corresponded with the limits of the chieftain's authority and the distribution of his clan, and each was already furnished with a body of hereditary revenue officials.

The chieftain was allowed to retain rent free the villages which he had previously kept for his own maintenance, and as neither he nor Dehli had pro-

bably drawn much revenue for many years from the remainder, it was not to be anticipated that he would feel much repugnance to the collection of an impost which did not affect himself. His old tribute was sanctioned and defined by the permission to levy for his own use two rupees per annum from each village in his pargannah, and he could hardly have incurred much danger by exceeding this moderate limit. In one case I noticed a curious order providing for the senior but less important Kumhrawan house by the grant of one anna on the cultivated bigah throughout the four pargannahs which had been assigned in the usual form to the Pukhra Ansari Amethia.

The power of disposing of the waste lands was never interfered with, and in many cases* the deed of the local chieftain was sanctioned by a sanad from Lucknow. He was not however permitted to assign whole villages as before, and his position is forcibly illustrated by the permission occasionally given him to purchase the right of engaging for the Government demand as proprietor in particular villages in which he already collected the revenue as head of the pargannah. In these pargannah grants he is usually described as the Zemindar, but I have seen the word Talukdar applied as early as 1760 A. D., to Diwan Baksh who collected the revenue of the Morawan pargannah, holding three villages as his private property, and receiving one rupee at each harvest from each of the rest. This compromise seems to have been very usual, and except in

* Note.—I have seen instances in Gondah where the Lucknow sanad has been confirmed in Royal style by the Bissen Rája.

the case of an obstinate rebel like Balbhadra Singh, to have been attended by tolerable success down to near the end of the eighteenth century.

84. At that time the heavy demands of the English and the extravagance of the Nawabs had brought the country to the verge of bankruptcy, and every nerve was stretched to realize as much revenue as could possibly be extorted from the people. The pargannah tenure was found clumsy and unprofitable, and separate engagements were taken, from the village proprietors. This proceeding which reduced the chieftain to the level of one of his own subordinate zemindars met with the most strenuous opposition, and it was found impossible to continue governing on this principle. Some times by favor, but more often by force, the chieftains repossessed themselves of single villages, and adding one or two each year to their engagements, for the first time began to hold small estates exactly corresponding to the talukas of today.

85. A report from the Tahsildar of Dalmau dated 1809 A. D., gives a lively picture of the difficulties under which the revenue was collected. Din Shah the Zemindar of Gaura had covered fifteen acres with a fort which he defended with two guns and a hundred matchlockmen. At his call Shiuprashad Singh brought three hundred stout villagers from Shankarpur. Dalpat Sah of Chandania, and Fateh Singh of Simar Pahar, could between them raise a thousand men, and at the prospect of a fight the Kanhpuria zemindars trooped in from the Nain

jungles; so that a levy of two thousand men could be raised at a moment's notice. By royal command the fort at Gaura was burnt, but the army had hardly turned its back when another rose from the smoking ruins, and the baffled official represents that the diabolical ingenuity of a wandering Englishman suggested the plan of the new gateway. Not only did this Chief generally refuse to pay any revenue himself, but he rendered it impossible to collect in the neighbouring villages, by destroying the crops of zemindars who were more inclined to acquiesce. At one time he was caught and shut up in the Dalmau fort in consequence of a quarrel with the merchant who stood security for his villages, but he soon made his escape to the jungles, and it was found that he was a more intolerable nuisance as a proclaimed outlaw than he ever had been before, and he was brought back by the bribe of a village rent-free. To this he soon added eleven more, and after he had been cut down in the Dalmau kucheri in 1795 A. D. his brother Lal Sah, and nephew Rambaksh continued the same policy, and in 1810 A. D. engaged for 29 villages, 21 of which belonged to other zemindars, who, writes the Tahsildar, still attend my kucheri in person, though I am obliged to let their villages remain in the Gaura engagement.

86. This report gives a tolerably faithful picture of the state of affairs throughout the district, officials attempting to collect direct, and resisted by chieftains who would not tolerate interference in their neighbourhood, and acquired by force an estate reckoned by single villages instead of their old general superintendence of a pargannah, as their still

older and still more vague supremacy within the limits of their ráj. The last twenty years of the eighteenth century saw the taluka proper in its infancy; and it is not probable that it would ever have attained its present enormous development but for the introduction of the contract system. The immediate effects of this both in enlarging the talukas held by the ancient local Chieftains, and in introducing strangers who were attracted by the position of landed proprietor, have already been described minutely and clearly in the chronicles of Unau, and I need not go over the same ground again.

87. I may here remark that I consider that the division of the class into true talukdars and false talukdars, puts the matter in quite a wrong light. As a matter of fact all were exactly the same in as far as they were talukdars, middlemen put in by or forced on the Government, superintendents of arbitrary collections of villages, who as the central power grew weaker, were being gradually and surely transformed into landed proprietors. What has been called a true talukdar differs from what has been called a false talukdar, only in the fact that while the former had been for centuries exercising an *imperium in imperio* on the spot, the latter was an outsider whose fortune, talents, or wealth had secured him the position. Both were alike in being talukdars, though they differed in every other particular. They included in their ranks representatives of every class of men; powerful but *parvenu* nazims; the descendants of twenty Rájas, who had successively ruled with semi-regal power over tracts

as large as an English county; extortionate usurers, the old village revenue officials whose ancestors had been established by Akbar or Ibrahim Sharki; the menials of the King's stable and garden, and the Kaiths who pillaged his treasury and robbed his subjects, all struggled for a place in the new aristocracy. It must never be forgotten that the root of this fresh growth was laid in the old Hindú clan organization, and that the whole movement was in fact nothing else than the reaction of the natives against their Muhammadan conquerors.

The seeds of the Hindú social system never lost their vitality, and asserted it over and over again in every part of India on every occasion when the Moslem power showed any traces of weakness.

88. Nor were the Talukdars without a useful purpose. Ignorant, proud, cruel, and stained by every meanness and every crime, the district has still much reason to be thankful to them. In the midst of the anarchy of royal oppression they were the only elements of law and order. Their power resisted the tyranny from without, and prevented the utter destruction of industry and wealth, while within their own manors their feudal courts administered a rude and serviceable justice. Politically they had a still deeper significance; the chieftain and his retainers were the only unit of Hindú society suspectible of development, and redeemed the country from the dead level of dowerless slaves under an all powerful Sultan. Nor were signs wanting that the throne was soon to fall before the rising national life. The central

executive was already paralyzed, while the ties of family and clan were being widened, and consolidated on a territorial basis. Had we stayed our hand, it is possible that even now a Hindú Rája would be ruling a Hindú nation from the ancient seat of Hindú religion and empire, on a throne supported by a landed aristocracy lately developed from the heirarchy of chieftains whose ancient ranks had been reinforced by the addition of all that was most vigorous in the late regime. And in fact when we transferred to ourselves the falling diadem, we recognized the fulfilment of the work, while we deprived the laborers of the fruit of their long opposition. No competent observer will ascribe the fall of a system to the vices of an individual, and the vices and impotence alike of the Lucknow sovereign, were the effects of the weakness of the Government and society he represented, when opposed to the strength of native institutions. A succession of active and prudent princes might long have retained the Government, but a single interval of weakness at the head was fatal to the whole structure; and the constant peril of the Mughal Government contrasts unfavourably with the unimpaired vigour which the Hindú clan system exhibited after the successive reigns of many incompetent chieftains.

89. It is easier to discern the various revolutions which have taken place in their internal polity than to ascribe a beginning to the village communities. They seem to have originally consisted of a society of laborers, each in the possession of the lands in his immediate cultivation, and pre-

sided over by a leading member who collected and apportioned the incidence of the Government revenue. For these services he was remunerated by a light assessment on his peculiar holding, and the right to a due known in royal firmans as mukkadami, which has perhaps survived in a number of forms to the present day. Within the reach of history there was probably no village in which more land had not accumulated in the hands of two or three influential families than they could till themselves without the help of tenants or hired laborers, still I am induced to believe that for some time after Akbar, villages in the exclusive proprietary possession of one non-cultivating family were the exception and not the rule.

90. Where villages were assigned to Chhatri zemindars, all the rights of the former cultivating proprietors rapidly disappeared. Even in villages not thus appropriated, the common and unrestained right of sale favored accumulation of property, and on the principle that wealth gathers wealth, we often find that one rich family had become the sole proprietors, and in imitation of their Rajput neighbours in the same position assumed the title of zemindar. A third case was when the village was included in the taluka before its acquisition of a zemindari body, and these are the villages in which we are told that the talukdar is the sole zemindar.

91. For the first class of villages I take an instance from the Haidargarh pargannah. About two hundred years ago the cadets of the Kumhrawan Ráj had to be provided for, and Man Singh

was assigned the village of Bhawanigarh. He found it occupied by a mixed community of Kurmis and Brahmans, whose rights he speedily extinguished, and his descendant Kalandar Singh is now in full proprietary possession of the village. The descendants of the heads of old society still retain the name of mukaddam, though it has ceased to have much meaning. A fair example of the second class is Katra Bahadurganj near Salone; a village famous under the King's rule for its panchayets. The litigants were summoned before a board and stated their case; if it was not perfectly clear witnesses were dispensed with, and the parties separately consigned to solitary confinement and a meagre diet. It was seldom that many months elapsed before a deed of compromise released the prisoners, and rewarded the patience of the judges by a satisfactory settlement of the dispute. This village was sold in numerous small parcels by people of every caste, on deeds extending over fifty years, to the Saiads of Salone. In the third case the mukaddams retained their title and collected the rents for their landlord instead of the Government. The retention of their rights depended chiefly on the proximity of the landlord, and in ordinary zemindari villages they had long altogether disappeared.

Generally the mukaddam had yielded to the zemindar, and again in most instances the zemindar to the talukdar, but the village remained an integral unit in society, and the old rights left their traces on the most recent constitution.

92. In conclusion it is hardly necessary that I should remark that generalizing on a limited number of very complicated instances is an especially difficult and dangerous task. Probably no case will be found which corresponds exactly with the above outlines. I have attempted to detect the general design which enters into all, but from which each instance displays more or less violent deviations. There can be no doubt that such design exists, but I don't conceal from myself the possibility that I have made mistakes in my sketch of it. One great fact forces itself on the attention, namely, that for the last four hundred years there have been two governments, the imperial Muhammadan and the local Hindú, of which the latter was the most elastic, the most intimately connected with the people, and historically by far the most important, and it is out of the collision between these two governments that the present state of society was produced. Throughout, my chief aim has been to throw this fact into the strongest relief; and this must be my apology for using here and there such questionable expressions, as the independent sovereignty of Hindú chiefs, expressions which after all I think are rather technically than practically wrong.

The mistake which vitiates almost all our political theories in India, is that we are the successors of the Mussalman Emperors: were we only that, we should not be here now. The vital fact is that we have, or at any rate think we have succeeded, where the Muhammadans in their strongest days never attained complete success, in taking the places of the local princes, and in substituting our own for